Thereupon they swiftly filled the pit with the charred remains. There they covered it with earth.

And [this was done with] the noblemen as well as peasants.

When they had burned, they gathered and heaped up the bones, filling a small jar or small bowl [with them]. Upon the bones they laid a green stone. They buried [the bowl] in the house or the tribal temple [of the dead one].[9]

And where they buried [the ashes], they always laid offerings for them.

And when the chiefs and princes died, they laid in their mouths green stones.[9] And those who were only peasants [they provided] only a [common] greenish stone or [a piece of] obsidian. It was said that these became their hearts.

And the chiefs with many things they thus bedizened: their paper adornment which they made [was a] princely paper streamer of either four fathoms' or three fathoms' [length] of papers which they glued one to another. And upon it they hung various feathers—[those of] the heron and the trupial; dark yellow parrot breast feathers; the red ararа; quetzal breast feathers; hawk feathers,[10] and yet other feathers.

And some were made [their] companions—the beloved slaves, perchance a score of the men and as many of the women. Thus they said that they were those who cared for their master, and still made chocolate and prepared food for him. And the men they sent as servants, likewise to care for him in the land of the dead.

And when the chief already burned, thereupon they slew the slaves, driving only bird arrows through their throats. They did not burn [with] the chief. Quite separately they buried the slaves, and quite alone the chief burned.[11]

ynin quiyocsiotia ontel njman ie ic contentiquetza in tecalli, tlatzactli vncā contoca.

auh yoan in pipilti, yoan in macoaltin,

764

yn iquac otlatlaque, quipepena quicenquixtia in jmoomio, coentŏco, xoconco quitentiquetza, in omitl ipan contlalia chalchivitl, quitoca ichan icalpolco.

auh in vncan quijntoca muchipa quijntlamanilia.

Yoan in iepē i miquia in tlatoque, yoan in pipilti quijntololtiaia chalchivitl. auh in çan macoaltı, çan texoxoctli, anoço iztli, quilmacu iniollo muchioa.

764 766

auh in tlatoque mjec tlamantli, injc quijnchichioa, yn amatlatquitl quichioaia tecpanitl anoço nāmatl, anoço iēmatl, amatl quiçaçaloa. yoan iecb quipipiloa, in nepapan ihujtl, aztatl çaquan, xolloti, cueçali, tziuhtli, cuixihujtl, yoan oc cequi ihujtl.

766

auh cequintin tevicalti muchioa in tlatlacoxixintin, aço cen tecpantli yn oquichtli, no itqui i cihuatl iuh quitoaia in quenin oquimocuitlaviqueb in jntecujo, yn oc achiviliaia, yn oqu itlaqual chiviliaia, auh in oquichti quintitilani, çan no iuh quimocuitlaviqueb in mjctlan:

auh in iquac ie tlatla tlatoanj, njman ie ic quijmomjctia in tlatlacoti, çan totomjtl in quechtli conaquia, anno yoan tlatli in tlatoanj, çan nonqua quijntoca in tlatlacoti, çan vel yioca tlatla in tlatoanj.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "en una sepultura de su casa."

9. See Pl. 35. *Quinchichioa*: more literally, "make them swallow."

10. Xolloti: cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 169. See also Ixtlilxochitl, *Relaciones*, p. 299, n. 1: "Tzinitzcán were birds of many colors." *Tzinitzcán* and *cuquizticatl* are identified in the same place in the text.

11. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 321 ff.) thus describes the funeral ceremonies for a chief: Neighboring towns were notified of the death, and the ceremonies were scheduled usually for four or five days later. Chiefs of nearby towns brought gifts (mantles, feathers, slaves). The body of the deceased was wrapped in mantles and adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. A green stone was laid in the mouth, to insert. Hair was cut from the crown of the head of the deceased and kept in a wooden box with a painting of the god (unnamed); a slave was killed in honor of the god. On the mourners' heads were placed the ornaments of the god. A solemn procession, including neighboring chiefs, relatives, friends, wives of the deceased, and dancing priests marched (without beating of drums) to meet other priests at the temple. At the foot of the pyramid, they ignited the pyre of wood and some incense. As the body burned, as many as one or two hundred slaves were sacrificed in the usual manner, and burned in another pyre. These were household slaves (including dwarfs, jesters, and the like) and others presented by visiting dignitaries. Next day, the ashes were gathered, along with the remaining bone previously cut. Friends, relatives, and wives laid offerings before the box. There were four days of such ceremony, after which fifteen or twenty more slaves were sacrificed, since, it was thought, the soul of the deceased had undertaken its travels and was in need of aid. Other slaves—up to a dozen or so—were later killed at the end of twenty, forty, sixty, and eighty days. Yearly thereafter, for four years, quail, rabbits, birds, and bread-like cakes were offered before the box, along with incense, food, wine, flowers, and scenes of rebecca. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing.

[p. 44 is blank]

[Second Chapter][1]

775 The second place [where] they went [was] there to Tlalocan. And in Tlalocan all prospered greatly; all enjoyed much wealth. Never did one suffer. Never was there lack of ears of green maize, [nor] squash, squash blossoms, heads of amaranth,[2] green *chīlis*, tomatoes, green beans, [nor] the Tagetes flower.

Injc vccan vilos vmpa in tlalocan. auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca neçuiltonolo, aic mihjiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aioxochquilitl, in ouuhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn exotl, in cempoalxochitl:

And there dwelt the Tlaloca, who were like priests, the long haired ones;[3] who were like the fire priests.

auh vmpa nemj in tlaloque, iuiᵘᵉ in tlamacazque, pāpaoaque, iuhque in tlenamacaque çatca:

●76ᵇ And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in the water, and those who had died in the water. And those who were leprous, or affected by venereal sickness, or by boils, or by the itch, or by sores, or by the gout; and those full of tumors, [those] they took [there], and those swollen by the dropsy,[4] [who] thus died.

auh in vmpa vi iehoantin in viteco, yoā in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan iehoantin in teococoxque, yoan in nanaoti, yoan in xochicūj, yoan in xixjioti, yoan in papalani, yoan in cocivi, yoan in poꝑoçaoaliztli quinvica, in teponaoacivi ic miquj.

These, when they died, they did not burn, but only buried. They applied liquid rubber to their faces; and with fish amaranth [paste] they covered their cheeks; and they colored their foreheads blue [with blue papers]. And they gave them [each] a paper lock of hair at the back of the head. Mountain images they placed before them. And they placed paper capes over them, and in their hands they placed for them large staves of wood.

in iehoān jn, yn iquac miqui, amo tlatla, can qujntocaia, quimixnoviaia, yoan michiouuhtli, incamapan conpachoca, yoan quimjxquixnaviaia, yoan quimahamacuexpaltiaia, tepeiotl, in qujntlalitiaia yn imixquac: auh amatl in qujnquequentiaia, yoan inmac qujntequiliaia ontepūl quavitl:

775 And so they said that in Tlalocan all is ever green, always in growth, always spring; it is always spring time.

iuh qujtoa in tlalocan, muchipa tlacelia, muchipa thtzmolini, muchipa xopantla tlaxopēmananj.

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1. Chapter heading is omitted in the Wolcott version.
2. Omoteuuatl. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 308) has *cuauhtzontli* (*Huauhtzon*). The corresponding Spanish text has *cominos de Moler*.
3. Intregrito version (Bukowsky ed., II, p. 321): "Casi de manera el orden y ley, para elegir entre sacerdotes los ornadores que llamaban tecuhtlamacazque, y mandaba los viejos del pueblo que llamaban achcacauhtin; y mandaba los capitanes, caballeros viejos de la guerra, que llamaban tlacochcalcatl y otros capitanes que eran principales en los casos de la guerra, y mandaba los ahorcajar que llamaban tlamacazcapoque, o papaoaque."
4. Identification of diseases is problematical. Seler (*loc. cit.*) has sickness of the genitals for *xixiotl*, skin disease for *papalotl*, infected sores which did not heal for *cocoxtli*, swelling of the body for *poçoçaoaliztli*, and infectious disease for *teponaoacivi*.

[p. 46 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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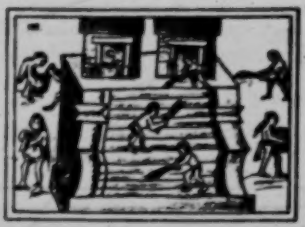
[346]
●[766]



[751]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

111. Burning of bodies of Mexicans slain in battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27). 112, 113. Refurbishing of a temple in Tenochtitlan on the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 28). 114. Smallpox plague (Chapter 29). 115-117. Return of the Spaniards to attack Tenochtitlan (Chapter 29). 118. Spanish brigantines (Chapter 30).

[p. 44 (Q)]

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they bugoed all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlami,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl cauallo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year—also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished: when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth: upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

000 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic tiiiximacho in tiacauan in onnjcque, in ixiuiliouaque, vncan qujotlatique in jxquichtin: auh in intecullo quipepena, in jmomjo qujnemachiconaia, coololoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in izquilhujtico in Mexico inic calaquico in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, ce murtlia tlamatlactiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique vme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oçic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic quioaltoquilia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã quivaltoquilia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman quivaltoquilia Izcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl nõteneoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzonquiz macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eua, vncã xiuhquiztzquilo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã quioaltoquilia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman quivaltoquilia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan itpoliuhque Tlacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã quivaltoquilia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman quivaltoquilia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in quiçaque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in quiçaque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic quiçaque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jxquilhujcique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjcoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in cã oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo cepa valmocuepaxque, aocmo ceppa imjloch quichioua-

4. The Aztec text skips Atemoztli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 134.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, VII — *The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 25; Sahagún, Bulmelo ed., II, p. 268.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.